DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 102 132 SP 008 914

AUTHOR Holsinger, Donald B.; Theisen, Gary L.
TITLE Education, Individual Modernity and National Development: A Critical Appraisal.

PUB DATE Feb 75
NOTE 33p.; Paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society Meeting held in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (Chicago, Illinois, February 26-March 1, 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Education; Age; Attitudes; *Cross Cultural Studies; *Individual Characteristics; Personality; *Personality Development; *Psychological Characteristics; Sex (Characteristics); Socioeconomic Status; Values
IDENTIFIERS *Psychological Modernity

ABSTRACT

Psychological modernity implies the existence of a set of individual personality characteristics that exist across cultures and form empirically identifiable clusters of specified attitudes, values, and behaviors which define humanity. Formal, explicit school programs, as well as learning experiences provided by peculiar social organization features of schools, are of demonstrable relevance to the study of psychological modernity. At least 10 modernity studies have now empirically established the formal education process as the most important variable effecting modern orientation in individuals. Two findings are particularly striking: (a) consistency of correlations among age, sex, socioeconomic status (SES), and other background items; and (b) remarkable consistency of the findings within countries where studies have overlapped. In all the studies, it was found that the longer individuals are exposed to school, the higher their modernity scores. The data show mixed findings concerning the influence of schooling on personality modernization when controlled for sex, SES, and measured academic performance. The implications of modernity findings for the role of schooling in the development process are dependent on the unexplored nexus between modern attitudes and values and their behavioral manifestations. (Author)

ED102132

Education, Individual Modernity and National Development: A Critical Appraisal

Donald H. Holsinger
Mary L. Theisen

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Comparative Education Center
University of Chicago

A paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society Meeting held in conjunction with the AACTE conference, Feb. 26-March 1, 1975 in Chicago, Illinois.

SP001 611

1. Education and Psychological Modernity: The Nature of the Empirical Problem

The concept of individual modernity has elicited increasing attention in the last few years from a greater number of individuals concerned with the nature of the development process in the developing countries. The work of Lerner (1958), Hanson (1963), Inkeles (1966), Schoolberg (1970), Portes (1973b), Inkeles and Smith (1974) and others, presumably argues the existence of a psychological syndrome of modernity characterized by both a mental flexibility in coping with new environments and situations and by the overt, behavioral manifestation of these psychological orientations.

Development literature dealing with education as a major determinant of social, structural change at the macro level is abundant. However, the literature on the role of education in fostering modern individuals on a society-wide basis has been quite scarce prior to the last five years. Our purpose here is to review this growing body of research for empirical evidence linking education to the emergence of modern individuality; second, we hope to place together a picture of how schooling is thought to modernize individuals, and, third, we will examine the behavioral correlates of modernity especially as these bear on broader questions of national development.

Modernization research has long suffered for lack of a universal definition and lack of agreement on the proper level of analysis. Most of the modernity literature has focused on the pan-national (Smith and Robertson, 1968), the social structural (Levine, 1970; Levy, 1966) and the communal (Inkeles, 1966; Portes, 1973b). Beginning

In the early stories dealing with psychological or individual
molecular plant in matter and mathematics. At the source of this
effort for a concept for anatomy was a to be an explicitly identifiable
medium or a more instructive? The questions are here mixed with
insight and elements as here widely the case for the factors here
evidenced in the writings of Hradil (1967), Jones and Schmidt-Jones
(1972), Ogden (1972), Pearce (1967b) and Sabin (1969). Many
examples of the notion of molecular anatomy, the most specifically
the concept of psychological economy, is relevant to the conception
of the medium was not known to Sabin in 1972.

> The medium is defined as a code
> of individual functioning, a set
> of dispositions to act in certain
> ways. It is, in other words,
> an "ethos" or a culture" in the
> sense in which this latter applies at
> the "upland of civilization," (Sabin,
> 1972: p.xii).

This molecularity statement begins the existence of a set of
personality characteristics which exist across cultures and which
serve to separate the modern individual from his more traditional
peers. Furthermore, it assumes that these characteristics are more
likely than not to occur in clusters within individuals and that
they are empirically identifiable. In short, the concept of an
individual molecularity hypothesizes that these clustered personality
traits form a interrelationship solid anatomy. The clinical theory
research distinction approach the theoretical model the more modern
the individual is judged to be. In the Sabrina and Smith Foundation
"An medium was is distinguished from the traditional man on the
basis of, among others, his informed contact with the outside world,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1) The longer children have been exposed to schooling, the higher are their modernity scores. In fact, the modernity scores showed a statistically significant and quite uniform increase of approximately five points from grade to grade. Surprisingly, Holsinger's data indicated that level of modernity increased only slightly less from year to year than did Information Test (knowledge of political figures and capitals) scores. Stated differently, the schools did nearly as well at their sub-conscious, informal and implicit task of modernizing as they did in meeting their explicitly stated task of imparting certain kinds of knowledge, including that of important political figures and places. In addition, Holsinger found that during the five month period between interviews, the mean modernity level for all children increased 5.4 points, significant at the .001 level. To be sure, one must exercise caution in attributing this increase solely to the modernizing effect of the school for a host of other influences could undoubtedly have been operating independently or in combination to contribute to the difference. Nevertheless, the findings suggest the need for longitudinal studies examining, with greater precision, the effects of schooling on modernity.

2) The modernity scores of elementary school children were higher than those of comparable age and SES non-school children The research showed that the non-school children, divided for purposes of comparison into three groups according to the mean

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

age of the school sample, did not grow more modern with the pasage of time. (Holsinger, 1974: p. 39)

3) The more modern the structural arrangements of the child's schooling environment are judged to be, the higher are his modernity scores. On the modernity scale which varies between 0 and 100, a baseline score of 39.5 was established for the average child not in school. On the average, the third graders scored 53.5 on the scale, with 58.1 and 63.7 being the mean modernity scores for fourth and fifth grade students respectively. On this basis, an average modernity point gain of approximately 5.1 (compared to 2.0 in the Inkeles and Smith study) is determined for every year in school.

4) The positive association between schooling and individual modernity could not be explained or interpreted by any of the alternative modernizing forces in the design such as age, sex, non-verbal intelligence, SES background,media exposure, school achievement, urban residence, parents modernity or teacher's modernity.

Several things are suggested by Holsinger's data. First, it appears that there may be a ceiling effect on the level of modernity that schooling is able to produce. In other words, it is probable that beyond an as yet undetermined point in the schooling experience, increased levels of education provide decreasing increments in modernity scores. Most of the research thus far conducted has dealt with subjects at the secondary level or below and has not,

with the exception of Holsinger's five month replication of interviews been longitudinal in design. It would be reasonable to assume a priori that education will not provide increased modernity scores of five additional points per year of formal education received ad infinitum. It is doubtful, for example, to expect an individual with a Ph.D. to score 20 points higher on the modernity scale than a Baccalaureate degree holder. This raises the question of differential returns to schooling at its several levels. Obviously, further research along these lines could have important consequences for educational planning and resource allocation in the developing nations. Other important studies of the relationship of schooling to psycho-social modernity are found in Inkeles and Holsinger (1974).

Following the notion (cf Inkeles, 1974) that the modernizing effects of schooling follow not so much from its formal curriculum but from its informal, implicit and often unconscious program it seems to us imperative to determine in a systematic way what are the facets of the school environment that make it a better or worse agent of modernization. Are there measurement procedures capable of capturing subtle variations in learning environments? And, is there a theory of learning that might give us greater purchase on the problem of how school environments accomplish a teaching task?

These and related questions are examined by Bolzinger (1974) who concludes that the quality of the schooling environment is an important predictor of modernity and exerts an impact independent of sheer amount of exposure to schooling. It may well be that the most important fact about schools in terms of their modernizing potential resides in those features that are endemic to all schools. Still, there is now hard evidence suggesting that the quality of the school environment is responsible for as much as 20% of the total variation in modernity scores in children.

A. Sex Differentiation and Modernity

One frequently noted characteristics of developing nations is the alarming inequality of sexes, at least as far as the public sector is concerned. It would not be surprising therefore, to expect that overall, women, who have a lower participation rate in modernizing institutions and whose subjective status is one dimension of the modernity test itself, should themselves perform less well on modernity instruments than men. But, the question must be asked whether once in contact with modernizing institutions they persist as more traditional in outlook? In other words do experiences in modern structures have a differential modernizing impact on males and females?

Harold Webb's 1958 study of non-Negro 9-12 boys' failure to make outdoors findings studies concluded that "boys in every category can have endure than men of the same intelligence area." (Webb, 1958) However, McGuigan found that elementary school girls in Florida outperformed the boys in all three grades by a significant amount. An explanation for the finding may be that girls must fewer girls than boys are sent to school in the first place, hence she do pass screen out from the school more modern. In addition, the situation may be compounded through the effects of varied self-selection and accompanying predispositions toward academic values and success.

Jack Cunningham's study of the entire student body of a metropolitan Puerto Rican high school during 1967-8 seems to favor this interpretation. She reports that "Sex differences in modernity levels among students in this sample are nonexistent." (Cunningham, 1974) Unfortunately, most of the modernity studies have utilized either all, or predominantly male samples and there a good deal of investigation research remains to be done to assess sex differential performance on modernity scales by sex.

B. SES and Attitudinal Modernity

We can assume that a child's original social matrix, his parents most especially, his peers and life chile generally, exert a powerful influence over the kinds of things he will ultimately come to believe, value and prefer. Since these early socializing influences

ticipating in rapidly expanding modern sectors of the society. Likewise, as the numbers of modern individuals participating in these new sectors increase, so does the speed, given the fiscal resources, at which modern institutions proliferate and become increasingly specialized. Hence, the process is a cyclical one; a symbiotic relationship between the structural and individual elements of a society. The history of national development provides ample evidence that although the process is one of mutual interaction, it is by no means strictly linear in the evolutionary sense. Efficacious self-selective adaptation, not evolutionary determinism, is the attribute which raises man to his unique status as a functioning as well as a functional organism. National development is a process fraught with setbacks and spasms of social turbulence. The difficulty in most development efforts is not that there is an inherent contradiction or juxtaposition between traditional institutions and modern institutions, or between the traditional and the modern man, but that the integration mechanisms within the social system are not fully developed or are poorly understood. The research reported in the first part of this presentation indicates that one highly productive mechanism of adjustment that deserves more attention is formal schooling. As a part of the national development formula, the essence of psychological modernization as a process which can neither completely unfetter itself from the force of tradition nor wholly syncretize the vagaries of modernity is beautifully captured by Clifford Geertz:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

> There is...no simple progression from 'traditional' to 'modern', but a twisting, spasmodic, amethodical movement which turns as often toward repossessing the emotions of the past as disowning them. (Geertz, 1973: p. 319)

In summary, the point to be emphasized is that formal education has been shown to produce affective changes in people in the form of individual modernity of a magnitude rivaling measurable cognitive gains. These affective outcomes are significant in that they bear strong face relationship to broader questions of social development. Modern infrastructures require psychologically adaptive, malleable individuals to inhabit them. These individuals in turn, offer sustenance to the continual expansion and differentation of institutions in the political, economic and social spheres of national life. The key and still tenuous link in this interactive process is the nexus between the psychological and the behavioral. In other words, how well do one's dispositions and stated values translate into latent and manifest behavior promotive of developmentally relevant social change. So far, the evidence is meager, but points in a direction supportive of the hypothesized picture of the modern man. (cf. Miller and Inkeles, 1974; Williamson, 1970 regarding psychological modernity and fertility behavior) Further research in the area of the effects of schooling on individual modernity and national development should center on this question of behavior.

In short, what has been established by the modernity researchers is that the previously theoretically defined modern man is an

empirical reality. Formal schooling appears to be the single most important variable effecting the acquisition of modern personality dispositions: a strong sense of social and personal efficacy, a positive valuation of time, a willingness to accept new ideas, a desire to participate actively in communal and political affairs, and a conviction that the national application of scientific principles and technology can solve a wide range of human maladies.

If, in its essence, national development entials a betterment of the human condition, fitting individuals to live in an increasingly complex form of society, then psychological modernity appears to be of undoubted relevance and formal schooling a vital force in the process.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

REFERENCES

Armer, Michael, and Schnaiberg, Allan. 1972. "Measuring Individual Modernity: A New Myth." American Sociological Review 37 (June): 301-316.

Armer, Michael, and Youtz, Robert. 1971. "Formal Education and Individual Modernity in an African Society." American Journal of Sociology 76 (January): 604-26.

Bendix, Reinhard. 1967. "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered." Comparative Studies in Society and History 9 (April): 292-346.

Cunningham, Imelda. 1974. "The Relationship between Modernity of Students in a Puerto Rican High School and their Academic Performance, Peers and Parents." In Education and Individual Modernity in Developing Countries edited by Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Dawson, J.L.M. 1967. "Traditional versus Western Attitudes in Africa: the Validation and Application of a Measuring Device." British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology 6 (2): 81-96.

Doob, Leonard. 1967. "Scales for Assaying Psychological Modernization in Africa." Public Opinion Quarterly (Fall): 414-421.

Dreeben, Robert. 1968. On What is Learned in School. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Dubey, Darell. 1972. Educational Institutionalization: The Effects of Schooling in Two Societies on Civic Attitudes. Stanford Ph.D. Thesis.

Geertz, Clifford. 1963. Peddlers and Princes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

_____. 1973. The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Godwin, Kenneth. 1974. "Two Thorny Theoretical Tangles: The Relationship between Personality Variables and Modernization." The Journal of Developing Areas 8 (January): 181-198.

Holsinger, Donald. 1974. "The Elementary School as a Modernizer." In Education and Individual Modernity in Developing Countries edited by Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

_____. 1975. "The Schooling Environment as a Context for Individual Modernization." Unpublished Manuscript.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Inkeles, Alex. 1960. "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception, and Value." American Journal of Sociology 66 (July): 1-31.

_____. 1969. "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries." American Journal of Sociology 75: 208-225.

_____. 1971. "A Model of the Modern Man: Theoretical and Methodological Issues." In Social Science and the New Societies: Problems in Cross-Cultural Research and Survey Building, edited by Lowry Kosenthal. East Lansing: Social Science Research Bureau, Michigan State University.

_____, and Smith, David. 1974. Becoming Modern. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kahl, Joseph. 1968. The Measurement of Modernism. Latin American Monograph No. 12. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Kohlberg, Lawrence and Gilligan, Carol. 1971. "The Adolescent as a Philosopher: The Discovery of the Self in a Post-Conventional World." Daedalus. 100 (Fall): 1051-1086.

Lerner, Daniel. 1961. The Passing of Traditional Society. New York: Free Press.

Levy, Marion. 1966. Modernization and the Structure of Societies. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lovelace, Jane and Loveless, Ruth. 1970. Measuring Sex Development. Vol. 1. San Francisco: Drawer Rose, Inc.

Miller, Karen and Inkeles, Alex. 1974. "Modernity and Acceptance of Family Limitation in Four Developing Countries." Social Forces.

Nettl, and Robertson. 1968. International Systems and the Modernization of Societies. New York: Basic Books.

Parsons, Talcott. 1959. "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society." Harvard Educational Review 29 (Fall): 297-318.

Portes, Alejandro. 1973a. "The Factorial Structure of Modernity: Empirical Replications and a Critique." American Journal of Sociology 79: 15-44.

_____. 1973b. "Modernity and Development: A Critique." Studies in Comparative International Development. 9 (Fall): 246-279.

Lenski, Richard, 1961. "The Impact of Education on Individual Tolerance in America." In Education and Individual Tolerance in Developing Countries, edited by Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger, Volume I. N.P. Xerox.

Schneiderman, Alan, 1958. "Regionalism Reformulated: Theoretical and Empirical Explorations." American Journal of Sociology 74 (November): 490-497.

Stephenson, John, 1968. "Is Electronic Voting Natural? A Critique and a Suggestion for Economic Reformers." American Journal of Sociology 74: 30-115.

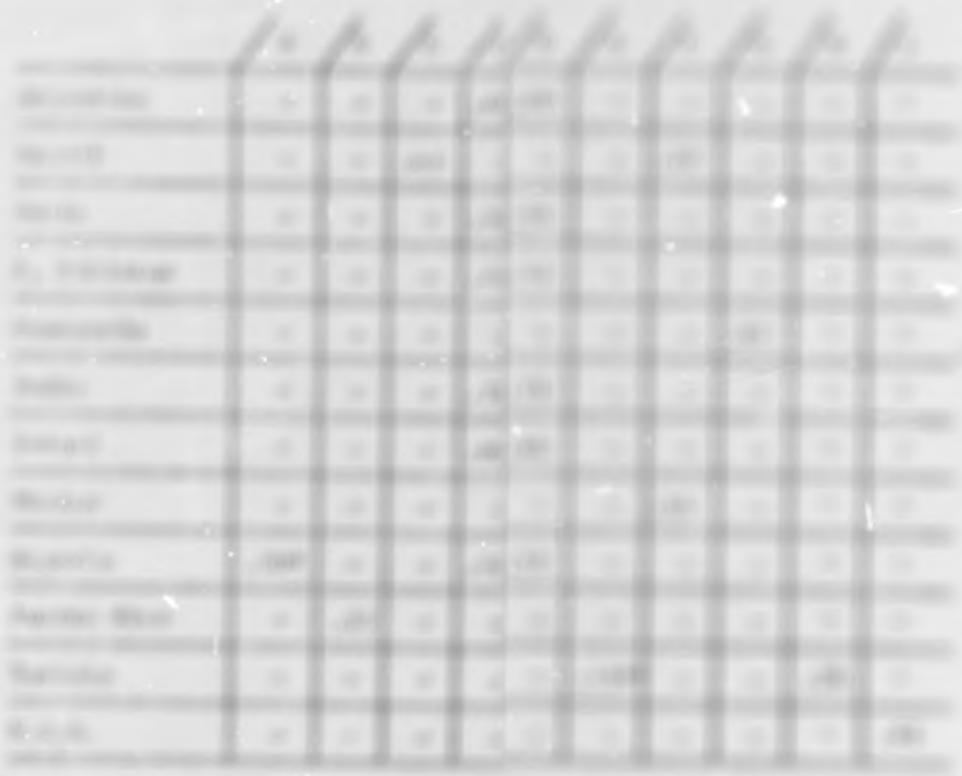
Tinbergen, Hildred, 1963. "The Origin and Evolution of Cities." Scientific American (September): 51-63.

Truman, Richard, 1956. "Psychological Tolerance." In Education and Individual Tolerance in Developing Countries, edited by Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger, Volume I. N.P. Xerox.

Unger, Roberto, 1971. "Social Change in America and the Rationalization of Consciousness." Paper presented at the University of Wisconsin Symposium on Social Change and Social Awareness.

Wiener, Brian, 1972. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective." Comparative Studies in Society and History 15 (March): 199-226.

Williamson, J.B. 1970. "Subjective Efficacy and Ideal Family Size as Predictors of Favorability Toward Birth Control." Demography 7: 329-336.



Please have your teacher and parent(s) initial
on Week 3 in their home* and school* if visited.

Week commencing 1.07

Study Code:

A. Attack and Tempo, 2013, doi/5196, 17 trial and interventions.
B. Coordination, Games, 2016, 2, 57-1,345. Studies 31,1-11,17. Male and Female.
C. Self-Esteem, Sessions, 2016, 2, 57-1,378. Studies 1,2,3. Male and Female.
D. Selection & Games, 2016, doi/945,000. Adult test Cyclists Students, 20-30 years old.
E. Friendship, Vacation, 2013, 5, 57-231. Public private with children aged 11-15.
F. Kids, Private, 2004, doi/17 for Cyclists, 9-50 for Motors. Adult Male Cyclist Professional, 20-30 years old.
G. Posture, Attendance, 2013, 2, 57-1,890. Adult Selected Cyclist.
H. Fuel, Workouts, 2014, doi_21,345. Intermediate Male Workers aged 23-45, also ages and 65 in 21-2 years.
I. Fitness, Workouts, 2016, doi/5,345. Adult Males and Females aged 21-45.